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Organizing people is key to neighborhood effort

Neither Washington nor St. Paul is going to provide any significant new money "for the next generation or so" to help cities solve their problems, Earl Craig noted in an interview.

"A county and cities are going to be told more and more by the states and the feds, 'You're on your own,'" even though "the country's problems are increasingly going to be concentrated within the cities at the same time those problems are becoming more difficult," Craig said.

That means, said Craig, who is director of Minneapolis's new Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP), the cities' "only new and renewable and expandable resource is people. And the only way people become a resource is not as individuals walking around or functioning in their families but to become organized."

The "only really effective way to

by Stephen Alnes

organize people," Craig continued, "is in neighborhoods where they live." And "that's very, very, very difficult to do."

But that is what the Neighborhood

Revitalization Program will attempt. One of the reasons it will be tough, Craig said, is most community organizing is "against something, a public institution, a bank, a large corporation. It is seldom that

you organize for the purpose of building capacity within the community to solve its problems."

That's the first goal of the Neighborhood Revitalization Program:

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Government must 'spend smarter'

by Ted Kolderie

	Revenues	Expenditures
Short Range	Tax	Cut
Long Range	Economic Growth	?

"Our first two years are going to be like Al Quie's last two years," an Arne Carlson insider said shortly after the election. More headlines, he meant, like the one on Betty Wilson's story (*Star Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1982: "State will get fewer services for more taxes."

The talk now is about cutting. The talk about taxes comes later. And it will come. Lobbyists don't fight

over shares: They work for a bigger pie. Soon, again, they will be trying to persuade the public that, "Folks, there are only two choices: Taxes have to go up or services have to come down."

For Carlson and the Legislature, and for the state, a lot depends upon rejecting that false argument. Cutting and taxing—endlessly offering the public "less for more"—is politi-

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Building a sense of self-worth among poor youth

by Lindsay Arthur, Stephen B. Young and Peter Bell

Can we break the cycle of poverty that holds back and demoralizes so many inner-city residents?

Twenty-five years after Lyndon Johnson launched his "war" on poverty, there is a desperate foreboding that victory cannot be achieved either by poverty's victims in the inner city or by those assigned the task of improving the conditions of the poor.

We read now about the emergence of a new kind of poverty—a poverty of means and hope that endures from generation to generation among certain welfare recipients and economically marginal families. A personal trauma of despondency and dependency wounds persons in such persistent poverty

as many young people are denied the fruits of their full potentials.

The current thinking on how to break the cycle emphasizes early intervention with young children in their preschool years to give them the self-confidence and the tools with which to maximize the bene-

fits later available to them through education and employment. A second current approach is an emphasis on education to break the poverty cycle as individuals prepare themselves for full participation in the economy. Education can be a ticket out of poverty.

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The search for quality in state's higher education

"Quality is the guarantee to an effective education...Access without quality produces inadequate education; quality without access is unfair."

Those words come from a proposed mission statement for higher education in a 1984 report of a commission created by then-Gov. Rudy Perpich and headed by former Gov. Elmer L. Andersen to look at the possibility and desirability of closing some of the state's many higher-education institutions. Note that *quality* gets at least equal billing with *access*.

The prevailing notion at the time was that Minnesota had too much higher-education capacity and ought to shut some of it down in light of the clear fact that the numbers of students coming out of high schools would drop precipitously in the years ahead.

But the Andersen commission recommended against closing any institution. It said, among other things, it was not convinced enrollment would drop as much as predicted. And among its recommendations was a proposal that the state set a goal of increasing the percentage of high school graduates going on to postsecondary education from 55 percent to 80 per-

Muddling Through

by Stephen Alnes

cent. It also recommended that the state strive to increase the enrollment of students over the age of 25.

Well, seven years later, the percentage of high school graduates now going on to postsecondary education is around 85 percent, and the percentage of postsecondary undergraduates over the age of 25 is somewhere around 30 percent. The commission report, greeted with upwardly rolling eyeballs at the time, appears now to have been prophecy.

Having hung onto the higher-education institutions and, in fact, expanded them in the interim, we have met the access test mentioned in the quotation above. We *do not* need an access commission, as a *Star Tribune* editorial recently proposed.

But we do need a quality commission—one with the ability, the independence and the courage to look at our abundance of institutions and our financial capacity and figure out how we can get qual-

ity out of what we can afford to spend.

It is my guess that Minnesota will not seriously reduce access. We believe in it too fervently. Some institutions might be closed, some programs dropped. But the overwhelming number of Minnesotans seeking a postsecondary education will find a reasonably convenient place to get one.

It is also my guess that the state is not going to be willing to spend a whole lot more money—in constant dollars per student—than it spends now. We're currently about average in the nation in that regard.

That means, if we are serious about quality, that we will have to look at organizational structure. Should we really have four, sometimes overlapping higher-education systems? Do we need a separate community college and a separate technical college in the same region? What can we do through cooperative inter-system programs and what can't be done? How can

the state make us of its excellent private colleges?

What do we really mean by access, and how much of it do we want? And at what price? How much sense does it make to maintain costly programs to educate a very few students for jobs that don't exist or don't pay very well?

It also might be useful to look at who is being subsidized how much to take what kinds of courses. For example, what, if any, subsidy goes or should go to a 52-year-old businessman who long ago got his MBA and who now wants to take some courses in jazz theory? How about the retired secretary who wants to learn how to paint? How about the perpetual student who has been in school eight years and shows no signs of graduating soon? Is the state's obligation to a student going through the higher-education system a second time equal to the obligation when the student went through the first time?

Access without quality is worse than "inadequate education." It is betrayal.

The opinions expressed above are those of the writer and not necessarily those of the Citizens League.

Lois Quam, chair, Health Care Access Commission, at Citizens League meeting Jan. 22.

We found that the issues of... cost control and access are inextricably linked... We found that if you separated those issues...you were not looking at the key component of the health-care system, and that is patient-outcomes...One of the best ways to reduce cost has simply been to move people out of the system. And, in fact, that's what we've seen in much of the cost-containment efforts in the past 20 years...

The commission's first recommendation is that the state form the Minnesotans' Health Care Plan, which will be a new state vehicle to provide health insurance to those Minnesotans who don't currently have insurance or those Minnesotans who are underinsured. We found...that Minnesotans who are individually insured or self-employed or uninsured don't get any of the advantages of large-group purchasing that Minnesotans who work for large companies or who

Health insurance for all

work for the state...currently get.

Minnesotans' Health Care Plan is aimed at providing those advantages of large-group purchasing to this population...With premiums based on ability to pay, all Minnesotans are eligible to enroll in this program and purchase their health insurance through the program...

The...plan will offer a basic set of health-care benefits that will focus on primary and preventive care...It will also provide hospital out-patient and hospital in-patient benefits with some limits. For example, the hospital in-patient benefit is an 80-20 package...We developed that benefit package in two ways...First...we looked at some of the epidemiologic evidence about what benefits should be provided, and the strong message there was to provide adequate access to primary and preventive care...Secondly, we looked at the Legislature's requirement that we spend

no more than \$150 million to provide health care for the uninsured, and we designed a benefit package that we could fit within that constraint.

Hundreds of thousands...face very strict underwriting and...very discriminatory rating practices. These practices have developed because insurers have had enormous pressure on them to control costs, and the easiest way to do that is to seek to enroll only the healthiest...So we are recommending...that insurance companies be prohibited from denying coverage to Minnesotans who apply for individual coverage or small-group coverage in employer groups under 30...and that they no longer be able to cancel coverage for reasons except for nonpayment of premiums or other problems of that sort, that they can't cancel for changes in health status...

We are also recommending to the

Legislature that...policies no longer be allowed to carry preexisting-condition riders because we found that they often constitute serious barriers to care, and that exactly those conditions, such as diabetes or high blood pressure that someone needs treatment for, they aren't able to get insurance coverage for...

We are recommending...that we return in this small-group and individual-insurance market away from the practices of experience and age-sex rating to community rating. Insurance used to work on the basis of community rating, where you took the whole pool of people who applied, pooled them together and charged everyone in the pool the average cost of caring for that pool. As pressure on costs got more severe for insurance companies, they've increasingly segmented the insurance market so every one's rate is set just on their group of employees. And that's meant that those risk pools...become very unstable because (they're) so small, and...may employ lots of the same kinds of people...

Editors offer their budget-balancing ideas

Mankato Free Press said (Jan. 25) the Legislature has an "obligation" to ensure that budget cuts for local governments are "equal for all parts of the state."

Fergus Falls Journal said (Jan. 23) Minnesotans should demand that any spending cuts by local government are the "most sensible" rather than the "most painful." It said the "real flab" in government is in excess personnel and inefficient use of funds.

St. Cloud Times said (Jan. 24) state government "must determine its proper role and stop trying to solve all problems in Minnesota." It said there is "no reason" state and local governments can't "deliver high levels of basic services...without more tax money."

Brainerd Dispatch said (Jan. 23) that Gov. Arne Carlson sounded "Perpichesque" in his State of the State Address in that some of the speech "sounded like some of Perpich's pipe dreams."

Star Tribune said (Jan. 23) Hennepin County and communities seek to change the state's fiscal-disparities law have a "beggar-thy-neighbor outlook...as shortsighted as it is selfish." The law is "doing what it's supposed to do. The Legislature should leave it alone."

Hibbing Tribune took the *Star Tribune* to task (Jan. 21) for "its annual hatchet job on the Iron Range Resources and Rehabilitation Board." It said it saw "nothing" in the newspaper's story about "how IRRRB investment has kept the

On Balance

Minnesota editors test the theory that man's best friend is his dogma.

Iron Range communities' infrastructure in superb condition, much better than almost any other rural area we can think of."

Free Press said (Jan. 19) that it does "not want to concede defeat" on the question of closing the Waseca campus of the University of Minnesota, but "it's time to begin more serious planning for life" after the closing.

St. Cloud Times said (Jan. 29) a proposal of the staff of the Higher Education Coordinating Board to merge Metropolitan State University with metro-area community or technical colleges "makes a lot more sense" than a plan put forth by State University System Chancellor Robert Carothers to "siphon resources of other state universities to expand" Metro State.

Minnesota Daily said (Jan. 23), "It appears we've been flimflammed" by Gov. Carlson because "rumor has it that Arne is considering raising" tuition rates. "We think the whole idea sucks."

Hibbing Tribune said (Jan. 25) Legislative Auditor James Nobles "has raised bean counting to a new art form." It said the auditor doesn't have a big enough staff to be expert on education one year and pollu-

tion control the next. "If you really want to look at the (Minnesota Pollution Control Agency), you might hire somebody who knows something about pollution control."

Red Wing Republican Eagle, citing the legislative auditor's finding that the Pollution Control Agency board "spends too much time hearing individual cases and not enough time addressing broader issues," said that seems to be the "crux of several gripes with the agency."

Star Tribune called (Jan. 25) upon the Legislature to create a higher-

education access commission to develop a clear state policy on higher education. There is "certainly" a better way to organize higher education in Minnesota.

Duluth News-Tribune supported (Jan. 22) a study proposed by Rep. Mike Jaros, DFL-Duluth, of the possibility of moving more state government offices out of the Twin Cities.

St. Cloud Times said (Jan. 26) Minnesota should join other states in creating a regional presidential primary election in 1992.

WJON/WJJO's Andy Hilger said (Jan. 24) he feels "betrayed" upon learning from a *Star Tribune* story that judges appointed by Gov. Perpich are "overwhelmingly abortion-rights advocates."

Highways help and hurt

From Do Highway Funds Spur Economic Development?, CURA Reporter, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota, December 1990.

The finding that improved highways tend to help the economy of urban areas but may hurt certain of their adjacent counties should not be surprising. In particular, counties adjacent to urban areas tend to depend on these areas for the infrastructure necessary for development; better highways may allow rural residents to conduct

more of their economic activities in nearby centers...Highways are helping the residents of the adjacent counties to get to work as well as providing jobs for them...

While certain counties are likely to gain from improved roads, others are likely to lose, so that the statewide effect is not significant...

If Minnesota is viewed in competition with its neighboring states in the upper Midwest, transportation improvements in the state could result in state economic gains.

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A narrow look at broad strategy

From a report of the Office of the Legislative Auditor on the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency (MPCA).

(Minnesota Pollution Control Agency) board members receive packets containing several hundred pages of board items approximately one week before board meetings. During fiscal year 1990, PCA staff brought 181 items before the board for formal decisions. In addition, staff presented 230 items for information, for committee review, or to respond to individual member requests...

Most board items are voted on. Previous commissioners and current board members estimated that well over 90 percent of board ac-

tions followed staff recommendations. Sometimes the board does amend staff proposed resolutions, but there is no real effort to establish or follow precedents or to articulate the reasons for not following staff recommendations. As a result, some staff said they got conflicting messages from the board. Some regulated interests also reported what they perceived as inconsistent board actions...

Board members and staff told us that policy is largely made on a case-by-case basis. According to current and former managers, the board has been more interested in the application of policy to particular cases than in discussing the

issues and implications of rulemaking. While the board spends considerable time discussing specific cases, (it) spends little time discussing broad strategic issues.

For example, the board rarely considers overall strategies to improve the effectiveness of the agency's enforcement and permitting efforts, or looks at the relative health risks of pollution problems addressed by various PCA divisions. It would be difficult for the board to devote significant time to strategic discussions without reducing the rest of its workload. Board members told us that the demands of current PCA meeting agendas are already formidable.

Budget

Continued from Page 1

cal suicide. There has to be a value-for-money strategy as well. And there can be.

Everyone understands one alternative to cutting and taxing: raising more revenue through economic growth. There's much less understanding of the fourth corner of the policy field (see graphic): What can be done longer-term to slow the growth of spending. Nothing, the lobbyists will say. But they're wrong.

True, it can't involve just state spending: Most of the money is spent by counties, cities and schools. True, it can't involve just administration; the real money is in the big services—health care, transportation, education, welfare. True, it isn't just waste, fraud and abuse. It's the cost of the services themselves. And true, it won't balance the budget this biennium.

But there are ways to organize the public sector to do more and to cost less over time than it will cost as organized today. The system tends to tell governors and legislators that the solution to every problem is either expensive professional serv-

ice or some high-technology machine. That's wrong: There are a lot of low-cost and low-capital answers, too. And actions that are not budgetary at all. The state simply has to develop a capacity to design them.

What goes into that fourth-corner strategy? Wise investment, for one thing: maintenance on infrastructure, to avoid larger costs later, and investment in "human capital." But every lobby these days calls its spending proposal "investment." So it comes down to *spending smarter*.

And spending smarter comes down to giving elected officials and government managers incentives: opportunities and reasons to do in their own interest the things that would assure the best possible service at the lowest possible cost.

This is harder than it sounds. Most outsiders don't think first about incentives. They think about changing people. Or they try to tell government how to do improvement. That's silly.

Government is full of sensible folks who know how to do better. What they need are incentives and opportunities. For the Legislature, the job is to find what's blocking change,

and to change *that*.

The state should:

● **Enlarge the contract option.** Too many governments still require their agencies to use the company store. It would help a lot if elected officials and managers could get service from some other source when that offered better value. (People do have to be *smart* buyers.) The 1981 law that let cities opt out of the metropolitan transit district and buy services themselves was helpful both for innovation and for economy in public transit.

● **Run subsidies to consumers.** Institutions love to have their revenues appropriated to them so they can give service at no charge. They deeply do not want to have to earn their revenues by persuading people to come. Requiring that would give them a real incentive, though, to be responsive and efficient. The trend has been toward government paying the bill wherever the eligible citizen chooses to go—as in health care, housing, child care and schooling. But more can be done.

● **Capitate suppliers.** Where the revenue is appropriated, it could be given in a lump, per client, with the agency free to decide how the job is done, and to keep whatever it does

not need to spend. The incentives can be powerful. Capitating doctors has helped shrink the metropolitan area's overbuilt hospital system. It encourages prevention and self-help. Capitation, light usefully be tried in education, with schools owned by their teachers.

It would also help not to make dumb mistakes: The first rule of winning is not to lose. We know the price of cost-pass-through arrangements (as in health care). We should know enough not to create them deliberately (as we may have done in turning solid-waste collection and disposal into a regulated public utility.) Certainly, the state should know enough not to put money into health care again without major system reform.

Gov. Carlson will do some things this area. His commissioner of administration, Dana Badgerow, will continue efforts in that department to make state government more customer-oriented and quality-conscious. And after the budget message there will be some kind of commission charged to propose "restructuring." Lots of people want to serve on this one, according to Lyall Schwarzkopf, Carlson's chief of staff.

Any commission, though, is a risk

Within one week the *Star Tribune* printed two pieces from readers who compared the costs of building I-394 with building light rail transit (LRT). What these readers, and other LRT proponents who make the same comparison, fail to point out is how many *riders* will be served for the dollars spent.

The Minnesota Department of Transportation estimates that I-394 will carry 187,000 persons per day in the year 2000, with more than half riding in buses, vanpools and carpools. This is more than five and one-half times the number of persons expected by the year 2010 on the most heavily patronized LRT line.

In fact, the 11 miles of I-394 will carry nearly as many people as are expected on the *entire 9-line* LRT system, totalling 83 miles in length.

Comparing the capital cost per user on the two systems, I-394 costs \$1,604 per person (or \$2,245 if you include the cost of the three parking ramps being built in downtown Minneapolis), and the nine-

line LRT system costs \$7,804 per person.—*Jody A. Hauer.*

Thirty-five shopping centers with a total area of 4.3 million square feet were built in the Twin Cities metropolitan area in 1989 and 1990, according to *Shopping Center Update*, a report of the Metropolitan Council.

More shopping center square footage—about 2.9 million—was added in 1990 than in any previous year. That does not include the Mall of America, now under construction in Bloomington. The region now has 249 shopping centers classified in 10 categories—including the five super-regional centers (such as Rosedale or Southdale), four regional centers (Knollwood, Northtown), five subregional centers (Apache Plaza, Southtown), 28 community centers (Phalen, Oxboro Plaza, Richfield Hub) 179 neighborhood centers or strips, 11 specialty centers, six off-price centers, four discount centers, four

Take Note

A few items of intelligence guaranteed to fill the space in which they are printed, and no more.

mixed-use centers and three auto-specialty centers.—*Stephen Alnes.*

Immediately above a Mankato Free Press article about North Mankato's City Council vote to build a golf course with \$500,000 of city money was an article describing the hard financial hits cities would face because of the loss of state aid. Incidentally, North Mankato is estimated to lose \$63,000 of its 1991 state aid.—*J.A.H.*

Interesting statistic from Teacher Compensation, a report of the Office of the Legislative Auditor: In 1989, some 93,000 persons held valid licenses to teach in Minnesota schools. In the 1988-89 school year, approximately 38,000 persons licensed to teach were not

doing so. How many of them wanted to teach isn't known.

Another statistic: Of the 3,550 students graduated from Minnesota colleges in 1988-89 and eligible to teach, 24.1 percent were teaching full-time in Minnesota.—*S.A.*

During a meeting of the Citizens League committee studying the party caucus system, talk focused on the so-called walking subcaucus, the arrangement used by DFLers to determine which delegates can be sent from the precinct caucus to the district convention.

Those who attended DFL caucus in the past poked fun at the number of sometimes obscure coalitions created around issues or candidates, groups that could be labeled such as "Mondak choice," or "Mondale/pro-choice/environment." Committee chair Jeff Spartz revealed his tongue-in-cheek plans for the 1991 caucuses: he'll sub-caucus for

It's dollars per rider that counts

Its visibility can build unrealistic expectations; its members think part-time, and it dies when its report is delivered. An ad hoc commission is a strange way to go about a job requiring long-term follow-through. Carlson would do better with a smart, aggressive young staff (like the one the Legislature put together in the mid-70s to find out why it cost so much to run Minneapolis and St. Paul), drawing on the experience of veteran public officials.

The state might also close the gap in its auditing. It has a fiscal audit for both state and local agencies, and does a program audit (through the legislative auditor) on state agencies. It does no program (value-for-money) audit on local government. It ought to.

The resistance will be terrific. But Minnesota really hasn't a choice. We want and we need a big public sector: Good public services and facilities are the way we attract and hold businesses and individuals that could locate in any number of warmer places. But we do have to worry about the cost. The absolute requirement for a small welfare state in an open, competitive economy is a serious and continuing effort to design in powerful incentives for public-sector productivity.

"Death penalty for possession of handguns/All-nuclear Navy."
—J.A.H.

Community College Chancellor Gerald Christenson called to challenge a factual assertion in our editorial (Free Estimate, *Minnesota Journal*, Jan. 29) on the Waseca issue. And he's right. I said Minnesota is fourth in the nation in appropriations for postsecondary education per capita. Actually, that is our rank for the "participation rate," or the percentage of students eligible who enroll in one of the institutions.

Our support for postsecondary education puts us, as he points out, 15th among all the states—which is about average in terms of spending per student. My apologies for getting those two figures mixed. The rest of the editorial however remained undamaged by the ranking correction: We have too many institutions out there to maintain at acceptable quality, given the resources that our political system allocates to them.—Curt Johnson.

Lawmakers pass one spending cut

The Legislature approved Gov. Arne Carlson's proposal to cut spending by \$194.5 million for the remainder of the current biennium. The measure cuts \$50 million from state aids to county and city governments, \$52 million in road funds and \$17 million from public colleges and universities.

The U.S. Census Bureau said spending by state and local government in Minnesota ranked fifth-highest in the nation per capita in 1989. It said the spending grew 6.9 percent in the year, ahead of both inflation and the rate of growth of personal income.

Census figures show the Twin Cities seven-county region grew 15.3 percent in the 1980s and holds 52.3 percent of the state's residents at 2,228,721.

Jon Grunseth, the Independent-Republican candidate for governor who withdrew late in the race, spent a record \$2.27 million on his campaign, according to a report filed with the Ethical Practices Board. Former Gov. Rudy Perpich, DFL candidate, spent \$2.24 million. Gov. Arne Carlson spent \$1.52 million in his abbreviated campaign.

Charitable gambling will pay \$98 million in state taxes in the current fiscal biennium, about 8.5 percent more than had been expected.

Fares on Metropolitan Transit Commission buses will rise 35 cents a ride to 85 cents in off-peak hours and to \$1.10 in rush hours March 1. The 10-cent senior-citizen fare will rise to 25 cents. Riders who buy tokens, passes or tickets ahead of time will get only a nickel increase.

The legislative auditor said the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency is not as vigilant as it could be in protecting the environment and faulted the citizen board for spending too little time on broad strategic issues.

The legislative auditor reported the average teacher salary in Minnesota in 1988-89 to be \$30,660. Metro-area teachers made an average of \$35,635; the outstate number was \$28,885.

A report by the Center for the Study of Social Policy said the percentage of Minnesota children living in poverty rose from 10.2 per-

Keeping Up

Tracking Minnesota public policy through a fresh snowfall.

cent in 1979 to 18.2 percent at the end of the 1980s. The state was 25th in the nation.

Atty. Gen. Hubert Humphrey III proposed legislation to impose felony penalties on polluters.

Gov. Carlson appointed **Charles Williams**, executive director of the Western Lake Superior Sanitary District, to be commissioner of the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency. **John Lennes**, an expert on worker compensation, was named commissioner of labor and industry. **Dana Badgerow**, Honeywell vice president, was appointed commissioner of administration. **Natalie Steffen**, Anoka County commissioner, was appointed commissioner of human services. **R. Jane Brown**, executive director of the Minnesota chapter of the American Physical Therapy Association, was named commissioner of jobs and training. **Hugh Schilling**, president of Horton Holding Co., was named chairman of the Metropolitan Airports Commission. **John McCally**, former chief executive of Detroit Medical Center, was appointed commissioner of health. **Sharon G. Klumpp**, city administrator of Oakdale, was appointed by Metropolitan Council Chair Mary Anderson to be executive director.

Mankato City Council unanimously adopted a \$30 million downtown-development concept that includes a local sales tax for financing. **North Mankato City Council** joined Mankato in approving efforts to pass legislation authorizing a local sales tax.

Hasbro Inc., the nation's largest toymaker, said it agreed to acquire Tonka Corp., Minnetonka. **Andersen Window Corp.**, Bayport, said it will lay off 900 people. **With the help** of a publicly provided low-interest loan, Technology Congress Ltd. plans to open a computer-assembly plant next summer in International Falls. **An Omaha** developer is proposing a shopping center, of either 12 or 17 stores, for downtown Worthington. **Onan Power Electronics**, the third largest employer in St. Peter, is laying off 50 employees.

Mesabi Regional Medical Center in Hibbing posted \$1 million dollars profit in 1990. **Immanuel-St. Joseph's Hospital** in Mankato gave away \$50,000 in free care between July 1990 and January 1991 as part of an agreement with the Minnesota attorney general. **City of Luverne** received \$4 million in federal funds to construct an 84-bed veterans nursing home.

Goodhue County's Landfill Siting Committee decided a new county landfill should be built in Goodhue Township, with a site in Red Wing as a backup.

Olmsted County Board approved a plan to meet with every county employee on ways to cut costs and improve efficiency.

Northern States Power Co. will appeal a Blue Earth County judge's decision that the county had good reason to block a permanent site for incinerator ash.

Preliminary water samples taken by the Pollution Control Agency from pumps at a warehouse site in downtown Rochester contained carcinogens.

North Mankato City Council approved building, with \$500,000 of city money, an 18-hole golf course that will be built and owned privately before being turned over to the city.

Grim outlook

From Minneapolis Mayor Don Fraser's State of the City remarks, Jan. 30.

The city is facing a financial outlook that might politely be called grim. The tax base is temporarily declining, our balances will be drawn down, inflation has accelerated, and local-government aid from the state is likely to be slashed dramatically...Because we anticipate even deeper cuts in the future, we must start a process that will lead to leaner delivery of city services...Deficits in state budgets cannot be allowed to create deficits in our investments in human capital...The investment we make in the prenatal care of a 14-year-old mother is an investment we make in the dignity and long-term economic health of our entire community.

Corps

Continued from Page 1

However, education as currently provided by our local schools fails a major set of players who are caught up in the poverty cycle. These are the young men of the inner city. They are more likely to join gangs than males of other age groups and than women of any age groups; they are more likely to push drugs; they are more likely to hurt people or frighten them; they are more likely to steal. They are more likely to commit serious crimes.

Because of racism, lack of education and training, a sense of hopelessness and other reasons, they have the highest unemployment rate. The jobs they get too often are paid the least and offer little prospect for advancement.

Thus these young men have few successes, few accomplishments, few chances to feel good about what they have done and too few examples of others around them who do. Many of these troubled and troublesome young men have been raised in families without the presence of a father who holds regular employment or with fathers who are unemployed or hold menial jobs.

William Raspberry, *Washington Post* columnist, wrote last year that black boys are a "special, and specially worrisome," category. "Black boys are more likely than any other group to grow up in families that do not include a parent of their own gender...Black males may be peculiarly susceptible to learning the lessons of manhood not from their homes but from the streets. This...is one of the key reasons why they equate manhood with the ability to 'take care of themselves' in physical, rather than intellectual, contests, and why so many of them scorn academic exertion as either effeminate or 'acting white.'"

In the inner city and especially among these young men, self-worth is in short supply. The desire to gain standing too often is deflected into a desire for immediate possession of material goods, for power over others, however achieved, and for the emotional support of, and the pride provided by, a peer group.

That's not surprising: If we look and compare, we can see the angry

response of the suburban, upwardly-striving business casualty who has been declared expendable by a "downsizing" or "restructuring" corporation. All humans, wealthy and poor alike, need a sense of self-worth to feel successful, to be a responsible member of the community.

But unlike the inner-city youth, the suburbanite has tasted conventional success more frequently and more fully in the past, is more likely to have a range of support groups and services, is more likely to have grown up with successful role

leaders within urban neighborhoods. A structured experience of responsibility that leads to self-empowerment can be put into place—one that instills pride in the individual and pride in a larger group, that pays a reasonable wage for serious and worthwhile work, that can be used to further educational goals and that offers a place to accumulate the skills and a modicum of cash that permit longer-term planning.

Something like the Civilian Conservation Corps of the Great Depression of the 1930s could be

Creating a special Minnesota civic corps would cost some money, but surely no more than we are wasting now in the cost of crime, of corrections, of drugs, of fear and of ruined lives.

models and may even have a severance parachute. Those so situated need ask less of themselves whenever they encounter career difficulties and can afford psychologically to take a longer-term view of the situation.

The inner-city young men and women at risk do not typically make long-term calculations of self-interest, nor do they defer gratification in order to prepare for the future. They have little commitment to saving economic resources or to investing time in education, which is another form of capital accumulation.

One of us, Peter Bell, believes that persistent poverty concentrates anger and disfunction in the young men of the inner city. Ignore them and you ignore a major source of social unhappiness.

Under the circumstances, who addresses the needs of many young black men? Principally, the criminal-justice system and gangs. Stealing and being arrested or joining a gang become the principal rites of passage into adulthood for so many inner-city youths. Neither offers hope for a fulfilling life or for an ability to contribute to one's relatives or to society. No expectations are placed on these young men to contribute economically, politically and culturally to our society. From those of whom nothing positive is asked or expected, very little will be received.

A different rite of passage could be established for inner-city youth by

developed. In the CCC, unemployed men were organized into disciplined units where they developed reliable work habits, accomplished useful projects, contributed to the country, found group support, gained self-esteem and got paid for it.

A youth corps with public sponsorship could be organized today for inner-city youth or, for that matter, any other young people who needed what the corps could deliver. Minnesota already has such a corps, though small, in its Department of Natural Resources.

A youth corps confers psycho-social benefits often praised in organizations of national service such as military forces. These values include a code of ethics, self-discipline, team spirit, leadership, time management, task orientation, motivation, sense of belonging, self-worth.

A special corps could be established with the highly structured squads, platoons, companies and ranks of the military model. Or, if a military model is unacceptable or inappropriate, a civilian state agency could run the show.

Or a new state quasi-public corporation could be created for the purpose. Individual businesses, service clubs, foundations, law firms and the like, could sponsor units and provide scholarships and jobs to the successful trainees. Thus, there would be a tie between the young people and organizations in the larger community, an opportunity

for direct communications of appreciation for work achieved and to provide a basis for pride grounded on real accomplishments.

School attendance, drug avoidance and other good-behavior requirements could be conditions for continued membership in the corps. Scholarships and jobs with a future would be a reward. There would be accomplishments to build pride and a group to share the pride. Graduates would become taxpayers instead of tax consumers. Social anxiety, pain, fear and property loss could be reduced.

At the same time, many community needs could be addressed by such a state youth corps. For example, the corps could become an extension of city police forces to help maintain security in inner-city neighborhoods and provide closer contact between the government and inner-city residents. Parking ramps, buses, schools and parks could be patrolled, graffiti erased, litter picked up, community projects undertaken. Young men and women could serve as role models for other young men and women.

Cities, park boards, school districts and the private sector could be charged for services rendered. Federal drug money and state correction funds could be tapped. Precinct stations, firehouses, libraries and schools could provide space for unit meetings and activities.

To best serve inner-city youth, the special corps should become exclusive, with membership an honor attained only after a young person has completed rigorous but respected rites of passage. To win respect from the community and to secure deep commitment from its members, the special corps must distinguish itself by rituals as well as by dedication to service. Its members should develop the *elan* that, in the black community, is often associated with those who belong to the Nation of Islam.

Creating a special Minnesota civic corps would cost some money, but surely no more than we are wasting now in the cost of crime, of corrections, of drugs, of fear and of ruined lives. And if this isn't quite the right model, let's get together and design the one we all would like.

Lindsay Arthur is a retired Hennepin County district judge. Stephen B. Young is acting president of the United Arts. Peter Bell is an independent consultant.

Craig

Continued from Page 1

"...build the capacity within neighborhoods through its people to solve more and more of their problems," Craig said. For example, "there's just not enough money for neighborhoods to solve the problems of all at-risk teen-age males. That has to be a combination of money and people doing that."

The second goal, Craig said, is within four or five years to get all of the cities' departments, strategies, policies and permanent budgets "driven by the consumers of those services" as spelled out in the neighborhood-action plans that will be developed through the NRP process.

The city has 81 neighborhoods that have long been on the planners' books as specific areas and used as the vehicles for funding various projects through the Minneapolis Community Action Agency, Craig said. Most neighborhoods have an existing recognized neighborhood organization.

To start the process, neighborhoods will apply to Craig to participate in NRP. It is not a competition, however. All neighborhoods that want to can participate. The applications are uncomplicated, Craig said.

Each neighborhood will be asked to define itself according to one of three basic categories. The categories are: 1. "redirection," those neighborhoods that have the most problems—the most boarded-up homes and the highest crime rates, for example; 2. "revitalization," basically stable neighborhoods that are beginning to see indications of difficulty and decay, and 3. "protection," neighborhoods with the fewest problems.

Second, "we will want them to identify the significant elements within their community. The purpose is to make sure they know there's an expectation to include more than the 13 people that have been involved in their organization before." For example, Craig said, "if you're around the University area organization 20 to 25 percent of the residents because they're the homeowners and the rest are renters and transients and whatnot, the clear expectation is to find a way to involve those transients or students...And if they don't



*"...OK, it's settled then...we'll ask for a 50% property tax cut
...which we all agree, will make our entire neighborhood
feel completely revitalized!..."*

have some preliminary discussion of that on their application, then we know we've got to talk to them."

Third, the neighborhood applicants will be asked for "some very preliminary discussion of how they expect to involve each of those elements" in the neighborhood-revitalization effort.

"It's a very simple, two-page narrative," Craig said. "There's no bureaucratic checkoff or anything."

Adjacent neighborhoods can join to submit a single application and proceed through the program together, and some of them will be doing that, Craig said. When the applications are in, six neighborhoods (or groups of neighborhoods) will be chosen by lot—two in each of the three categories—to be the first entrants into the program.

Why a lottery? To make it a "non-bureaucratic, nonpolitical process," Craig said, and "to minimize me as the director of the program and the City Council or others making those choices." Craig expects to be able to handle two waves of six neighborhoods or groups each year over several years and eventually, perhaps in six years, to reach all neighborhoods seeking to participate.

After a neighborhood is selected, the next step is organizing within the neighborhood, to get all the elements involved, Craig said. The second step is a series of workshops to develop a strategy and an action plan.

For example, a neighborhood might say its No. 1 priority is com-

munity policing and develop a plan for it. It could be concern about schools. It could be housing—"a neighborhood that decides it wants a pool of money for absentee landlords to get loans to do fixup," Craig said. "It could have to do with teenage boys...It could be anything," Craig said. "The point is we're saying nothing is off limits."

The third step in the process is for Craig to take the neighborhood's strategy and plan to an implementation committee. That's made up of the heads of governmental units. That committee assembles a package that spells out what is to be done and how it will be financed.

The package is submitted to a policy board, made up of the mayor, the president of the City Council, the chairs of the School Board, Park Board, Library Board and the County Board, the chairs of the Minneapolis House and Senate delegations, the chief staff persons of the Chamber of Commerce, the Central Labor Union, the Urban Coalition, the Minneapolis Foundation and the United Way, and four neighborhood representatives.

After initial review by the policy board, the plan goes to the five governmental bodies—city, county, park, library, schools—for review and comment. But, Craig said, the City Council will not bust it up into chunks for action by committees but will view the plan as a whole and agree, disagree or propose change. Then it's back to the policy board.

The policy board must, by law, approve the package. Then it goes to elected officials for those parts that

require funding and then to the departments with the budgets and the responsibilities for the activities set forth in the plan.

The intent, said Craig, is to get as much of the neighborhoods' needs as possible met within the framework of the city's budget—to have the budget increasingly reflect what the consumers have said they want. The idea is that "people in the neighborhoods know best what they need."

But NRP also will have access to some \$20 million a year produced through refinancing of some tax-increment financing (TIF) bonds. The TIF money, however, is "last" money, Craig said. "The first money is the existing budgets...to see if we can make it work within the existing budget. To the degree that we can't, we then use the...TIF funds as glue, as leverage, to put it together."

Can it be done? Craig said that on a scale of zero to 100, with zero meaning nothing can ever be achieved, the chances of meeting both goals—building capacity within neighborhoods and getting budgets driven by what neighborhoods want—are no better than a 10.

"People are isolated and fearful and cynical," he said. "They're cynical in general. They're cynical based upon the history of the city saying we're coming to get your input, and nothing ever happens to it...We're saying come and create something rather than come throw stones at something." And that's a tough sell.

It will be difficult, too, Craig said, to get the "genuine, caring" people in government, who are used to doing things with some efficiency and who have good reasons for what they do, to rearrange the process, make it more flexible, to accommodate a substantially different process for considering budgets.

Craig, who was president of the Minneapolis Urban Coalition from 1975 to 1983 and who previously had worked as acting director of Northside Settlement Services, conceded the "sense of the doable" in the inner city is shrinking as resources diminish and problems grow.

"It's like fighting in the sand," he said. "It really shifts on us...But I guess I'm still in it out of some...sense that I and we have no choice but to continue."

Tolls defended as sound way to finance highways

Robert Zauner, Zauner Consulting Ltd., Burnsville, writes:

Minnesota Tollway Authority, Inc., welcomes and encourages comments such as those posed in your Jan. 15 issue (Stephen Alnes's *Muddling Through* column) regarding toll financing of transportation services in Minnesota. We appreciate your comments because they should spur public interest in this topic. A topic not only about how we should pay for roads but also about the much broader public-policy issue of what services government should provide, is capable of providing, and who and how much should be paid for those services.

We would, however, like to address several points regarding the toll concept you mentioned in your article. First, that roads encourage sprawl-type development. Roads do encourage growth because the ease by which people, goods and services can be moved from one area to another makes one area a more attractive place to live and work than another.

However, the growth spawned is not haphazard. It is controlled by the location of the road and the areas it serves. This can be shown by the developments that have evolved along all the major high-

ways in the metro area. This growth has been orderly and has made efficient use of the area's resources. Also, not building roads does not insure that growth will be stymied, controlled or orderly. A case in point is Phoenix, Ariz.

In Phoenix, a comprehensive highway network was not built in an effort to control the size of the city. In spite of this policy, the city grew enormously without the benefit of a satisfactory highway system. The resulting traffic congestion has choked mobility and is a major contributor to the pollution that hampers the quality of life.

To alleviate these problems, Phoenix is now faced with the task of providing a highway system suitable to the city's needs at a far higher cost. In addition, the system must now be constructed through developed and populated areas that would otherwise have been unnecessary if the situation had been addressed in a more timely fashion. Witness the I-394 and I-35W corridors as local examples of trying to develop or expand corridors after an area has been developed.

Other Views

Second, the writer contends that collecting tolls is a clumsy and annoying way to pay for highways. We agree with that assessment if traditional coin machines and/or toll takers are utilized to collect the fees. However, tolls no longer need to be collected in the traditional fashion. Tolls now can be collected with Intelligent-Vehicle and Highway Systems that are currently available and in use. Through this technology, use of a highway is recorded as a vehicle passes through a series of checkpoints at highway speeds and fees are automatically assessed for each mile of roadway actually used. An invoice is issued each month for the use of the road either directly or through a credit card. Other than these monthly invoices, the regular user would experience no difference between toll roads of this type and a traditional freeway.

Third, the writer argues the addition of monies from the private sector to existing funding sources would lead to a lack of discipline in the selection process for highway construction. In fact, the opposite is true. At the present time, roads are constructed for many reasons besides the basic fact that quality transportation is provided at locations that best serve the welfare of the whole state.

If the private sector and private capital were utilized in the devel-

opment of roads, each toll project would need to stand the test of economic feasibility. Traffic patterns, demographics and future development would have to be studied and verified through time-tested methods for any project to meet the standards financial institutions require for the sale of bonds. These guidelines are, in fact, much more stringent, restrictive and objective than much of the criteria utilized in the selection of projects by current methods.

We do not feel that tolling roads is a financing mechanism that should be used to replace present funding sources. We do, however, feel it is a viable way to pay for roads that may not otherwise be built or repaired in the near future, if ever, not due to a lack of need but a lack of available funds.

The capability and capacity of government to provide the services all of us continue to demand while at the same time refusing the increased taxes required to pay for those services is an issue that must be debated. The Citizens League, of course, has been the major advocate of redesigning public service to respond to this dilemma. That is, redesign as an alternative to either cutting services or raising taxes, both of which Minnesotans consider draconian.

The concept of a toll road is in that redesign spirit and helps, we believe, with the tricky business of differentiating between making public policy and delivering public services.

CL says LRT 'wasteful'

From a Citizens League statement on light-rail transit, January 1991.

The Regional Transit Board (RTB) proposal that the 1991 Minnesota Legislature levy a new, 1-cent metropolitan-area sales tax to build a light-rail transit (LRT) system costing at least \$1.6 billion in 1991 dollars represents a highly unproductive, even wasteful use of taxpayer money.

The 205,000 projected LRT trips a day 20 years from now represent only 2.5 percent of the current daily 8 million trips in the Twin Cities region; the 43,000 new transit trips (those attracted out of cars) represent one-half of 1 percent (.53 percent) of the current total trips.

Such a painfully small contribution to transit ridership in the Twin Cities area cannot possibly produce meaningful progress toward the RTB's professed goals of reducing the area's dependence on cars (and

gasoline), relieving air pollution and reducing highway congestion.

The Legislature should avoid tying its own hands by dedicating a broad, general tax, such as a sales tax, solely to LRT or transportation. Legislators almost surely will be forced to balance LRT and roads against other metropolitan needs.

The Legislature should: ● Repeal the provision in current law that grants the seven metropolitan counties authority to levy nearly \$43 million a year in property taxes for LRT.

● Direct the RTB to refocus its efforts, concentrating on reasonable-cost strategies based not on a particular technology, but on service that will persuade drivers to ride. Emphasize that turning drivers into riders is vital to truly reducing auto use and congestion.

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Citizens League Matters

February 12, 1991

News for Citizens League Members

Welcome new members

- Ann Bystrom
- Marvin Cofer
- Billie Lawton
- Dorothy Lekson
- Paul Mielke
- David Neal
- Mary Neal
- Myron Orfield
- James Otoo
- Jody Rooney
- Frances Silverman
- Douglas Smith

Thank you recruiters

- Joan King
- Susan Lantz

New publications

The Citizens League's report *Because That's Where the Money Is: Why the Public Sector Lobbies* and statement on *Light Rail Transit: The Regional Transit Board's Proposal to the 1991 Legislature* are now available. Statements are available at no charge. The first copy of a report is free to members; subsequent copies \$5. Reports cost \$10 for non-members. Call 338-0791 to order.

Board approves report and new study committee

Trucks report passed unanimously; New study set on public service

At its January 24 meeting, the Citizens League Board of Directors approved the report from the committee on *Large Trucks: Metropolitan Road Safety and Congestion and Movement of Goods*, chaired by **Ellen Benavides**.

essentially fixed supply of freeway capacity combined with mixed traffic of large trucks and autos portends problems.

The report recommends a series of actions to mitigate negative impacts on safety and congestion

committee on barriers to public service. The new committee, scheduled to begin in the spring of 1991, will look at who enters public service, who doesn't, and why. It is to analyze proposals to remove barriers to public service including: limiting terms of officials, changing

Large trucks do not significantly reduce Twin Cities freeway capacity.

The report says large trucks do not significantly reduce Twin Cities freeway capacity, because they represent only a small part of total traffic. However, the

on metropolitan roads.

Acting on the recommendations of the Program Committee, the Board approved a new study

the financing of political campaigns, and taking steps to reverse the trend toward public service positions becoming full-time.

Henry Cisneros recalls ancient values of citizenship

These are excerpts of remarks made by Henry Cisneros to the Citizens League on Jan. 31.

The challenge of citizen democracy in a modern era: (This is) a kind of democracy that involves citizens, not just in the traditional voting process, the minimum that we expect from citizens, but a real active and engaged volunteerism, civic action, citizen decisionmaking.

The world is changing. There's a whole new set of factors—demographic, technological, economic, lifestyle issues—that require some new thinking about how citizen democracy works. It's not that the values of democracy has changed, it's that the setting in which they must apply has changed.

The big story of 2000 and beyond will be the changing demographics of our country: The aging of traditional American populations; The changing composition of the younger age groups—increasingly minority; And, the irrepressible dimensions of poverty...

These are the ripple effects: The mobility of our population. People tend not to contribute to their communities because they're constantly moving; there is no sense of "rootedness"...

Another dimension is the availability of instant communications which loosens the ties we have to authority figures and also to each other...The linkages that made us dependent on organization, on political parties,

on other institutions, are untied.

Other dimensions of the new environment: The federal deficit...The rise of entrepreneurship...The traditional religious base has diminished...The changes in the American family.

What might we do to harness some of the dimensions of change and the technology available today and take the enduring, eternal values of citizen democracy and enhance, support them?

First is the need to increase competition and access to public office... Decrease the impact of money on political campaigns... Expand voter participation opportunities...Set forth the principles that constitute the principles of fair redistricting.

Cisneros

(continued on back page)

Mind-Openers to feature workers' compensation

Ongoing issue likely to be addressed in 1991 Legislature

The Mind-Openers shift from health care to another topic likely to be debated by the Legislature this year: workers' compensation.

The issue has new impetus because Gov. Carlson has made workers' compensation

sation reform. On February 26, **John Lennes**, commissioner of the Department of Labor and Industry, will provide the administration's viewpoints.

All Mind-Opener breakfasts are held at Central Lutheran

Gov. Carlson has made workers' compensation reform a priority.

reform a priority.

Leading off the series on February 19, **Bernard Brommer**, president of the Minnesota AFL-CIO, will present the employees' interests in workers' compen-

Church in downtown Minneapolis at 333 14th Street South Mind-Openers run from 7:30 to 8:30 a.m. and cost \$6 for members and \$12 for non-members. Call 338-0791 for reservations.

Cisneros

From front page

Redesign debates for voters—not candidates... In the schools, address experiments in how we bring children early on into

some sense of their civic obligations... Use television as an instrument for community involvement.

Resource persons invaluable to committee studying state fiscal system

The Citizens League wishes to acknowledge the outside help provided to the committee chaired by **Jay Kiedrowski** that produced the report *Remaking the Minnesota Miracle: Facing New Fiscal Realities*.

The following people generously contributed their time and expertise to the committee (affiliation reflects position at time of presentation):

Mary Anderson, City of Golden Valley, **John Brandl**, Senate Tax Committee, **Dick Braun**, Center for Transportation Studies, **Howard Davies**, The Audit Commission for Local Authorities in England and Wales, **Gus Donhowe**, Finance & Operations, University of Minnesota, **Sue Dosai**, State Court Administrator.

John Ellwood, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, **Jim Gelbmann**, State Planning Agency, **Steve Keefe**, Metro-

politan Council, **Ted Kolderie**, Center for Policy Studies, **George Latimer**, Hamline Law School, **Jack Militello**, College of St. Thomas.

Jim Mulder, Association of Minnesota Counties, **Arthur Naftalin**, Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, **Karl Nollenberger**, St. Louis County, **Bob Orth**, Metropolitan Inter-County Association, **Randy Peterson**, Senate Education Committee, **Peter Ring**, Carlson School of Management.

Michael Robertson, Office of Waste Management, **Duane Scribner**, Higher Education Coordinating Board, **John Tomlinson**, Minnesota Department of Revenue, **Tom Triplett**, Minnesota Department of Finance, **Michael Weber**, Hennepin County Department of Community Services, **Ann Wynia**, Minnesota Department of Human Services.

CL Calendar at a Glance: February 11-22, 1991

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
11 Board of Directors, 6:00-8:00 p.m., Hennepin County Government Center	12 Mind-Opener, 7:30- 8:30 a.m., Central Lutheran Church, Minneapolis	13	14 Program Committee, 5:00-6:30 p.m., Minne- sota Department of Health Happy Valentine's Day	15 Community Information Committee, 7:30-9:00 a.m., Tay Do Restaurant, St. Paul
18 President's Day	19 Mind-Opener, 7:30- 9:00 a.m., Central Lutheran Church, Minneapolis	20 Executive Committee, 7:30-9:00 a.m., Thresher Square Building	21	22 Join the Mind-Openers Breakfast Club -- get 15 meetings for the price of 13. Call 338-0791.